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THE PRELUDES OF HARPER'S FERRY.

TWO PAPERS BY

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THE PRELUDES OF HARPER'S FERRY.

I. — JOHN BROWN, PRACTICAL SHEPHERD.

IN the first winter month of 1838-39, a tall, spare man, under middle age, unbearded and of grave countenance, a rustic by his garb, entered a stationer's store at 108 Broadway, New York, and bought a little book for the pocket. A common-looking affair, as we now view it in a period of cheap paper, it contained about fifty ruled leaves, and was bound in boards, backed with leather, and sided with marbled paper. On the inside of the cover the buyer penciled his name, with date and place of purchase, which he presently repeated in ink on the opposite fly-leaf, as follows: "Memorandum Book of John Brown Franklin Portage Co Ohio Bought Decem 3d 1838 of G and C Carvill & Co Price \$0.25." The price, two shillings, would be thought twice too dear to-day, and was equivalent in purchasing power to at least fifty cents of our present money. In the rural districts it meant an outlay of two "square meals," as a cash account on page 29, for April 20, 1840, shows: "To do for 2 dinners 0.25." Tested by this gauge, the poor have not grown poorer in the last half century of progress.

The date, December 3, is noticeable. Our "Man of the Second of December" was entering on the first of the twenty-one years yet allotted him on this earth. Other men turn over a new leaf with the calendar year; by chance he seized the atom of time which was to mark New Style for the remnant of his days. Nearly enough, too, the memorandum-book stands for a parting of the ways in John Brown's worldly affairs. A divinity student turned land-surveyor and then tanner, he cured his hides at Hudson, Ohio, till 1825, afterwards at Richmond, near Meadville, Penn., till 1835, then at Franklin, Ohio, where he fell a victim to the well-known disease of buying farm lands to cut up prematurely into village lots. He was caught by the panic of 1837 and beggared. He was now free to choose an occupation more consonant with his tastes. In that autobiographic sketch which he wrote for young

Stearns on July 15, 1859, as given in Sanborn's *Life of Brown* (pp. 12-17, and 58), we read : —

"John began early in life to discover a great liking to fine Cattle, Horses, Sheep, & Swine ; & as soon as circumstances would enable him he began to be a practical *Shepherd* : *it being* a calling for which *in early life* he had a kind of *enthusiastic longing* : together with the idea that as a business it bid fair to afford him the means of carrying out his greatest or principal object."

Of this principal object we shall speak later. We will first return to the memorandum-book, which John Brown's widow gave to her friend the late James Miller McKim. Its entries extend from December, 1838, to February, 1845. At the beginning of the year 1844 Brown had "entered into a copartnership with Simon Perkins, Jr., of Akron [Ohio], with a view to carry on the sheep business extensively." In 1846 he went to reside in Springfield, Mass., as member of the firm of Perkins & Brown, commission wool merchants. We have, therefore, in his well-worn pocket-companion a reflection of his roving pastoral career.

We may say, once for all, of its contents, that they consist of accounts, personal addresses, memoranda ; recipes for the care of sheep and horses, for the garden, the dairy, the kitchen ; itineraries ; and commonplaces — these last the fewest, yet the most instructive. There is also, on the reverse of the second fly-leaf, a plan of one floor of a house (24×56) provided with three bedrooms, dining-room, sick-room, and "Butery." A trace of the surveyor appears in the entry (inked upon pencil, as often happens) : "B Pike & Son 166 Broadway Instrument makers Left Compass Paid their bill Dec 5th" (*videlicet*, 1838). Just above it is the Shepherd's wash-list during his stay in the metropolis : —

- " Left for washing
- 3 Cambrick Shirts
- 1 Flannel do
- 4 Collars
- 3 Pair socks
- 1 Pocket Handkerchief."

Other such lists occur later, in varying proportions, but with the 1 flannel (sometimes "flanel") shirt and 1 handkerchief constant. After forty promiscuously filled pages, we come upon a blank series, and then upon fresh entries upside down, and the book must be turned end for end.

John Brown's visit to New York in the winter of 1838 was in the course of a journey eastward to buy sheep. He left that city on

December 7 for Litchfield, Conn., and proceeded thence to Hartford, which he made his headquarters from December 12 to December 26, when he set out for Boston. He appears to have continued his trip to Walpole, N. H. By January 18, 1839, he was back in West Hartford, and, after a fortnight's sojourn in the neighborhood, he began his homeward journey, which gives us a "Memorandum of traveling expences for the purchase & driving of Cattle commenced at New Hartford Feby 9th 1839." On page 68 of Sanborn's Life will be found a home letter written by John Brown on the eve of this anabasis. His spirits were not of the best, but he was hopeful, and he strove to lighten the discouragement of his family, into which his son Owen would be born just a month after the driving began at New Hartford. Mr. Sanborn reports (p. 68) that in March, 1839, Brown "drove a herd of cattle from Ohio to Connecticut, and in July brought back with him a few fine sheep, from which he bred his first flock in Richfield." Of this trip our memorandum-book gives the Eastern itinerary in detail, from Fredonia, Chautauqua Co., N. Y., by way of Ithaca to Orange Co., N. Y., and the Western, by way of Albany to Buffalo. On June 15, 1839, he settled his indebtedness to Samuel Whitman, of West Hartford, for the keeping of the sheep, which he at once, presumably, began to drive to Ohio.

Was John Brown ever in Boston before December, 1838? In the Life of my father (vol. iii., p. 487), I have surmised that he was there on May 24 of the same year, but I cannot support the conjecture. The memorandum-book records on its sixth page seven Boston addresses, all obviously for business purposes. There is not a trace of any approach to or interest in the abolitionists who had made Boston the headquarters of their enterprise. The year stands in anti-slavery history as the climax of the Reign of Terror, having witnessed on May 17 the burning in Philadelphia of Pennsylvania Hall, the designated temple of free discussion. In Boston, a week later, a similar temple, the Marlboro' Chapel, was menaced on its dedication with the same fate, and this is the occasion which alone (so far as I can ascertain) fits a reminiscence of John Brown's in his Virginia prison: "I once set myself to oppose a mob at Boston, where she [Lucretia Mott] was. . . . The meeting was, I think, in Marlboro' Street Church, or Hotel, perhaps."

That John Brown should not have called at the "Liberator" office, or sought the acquaintance of the leading abolitionists, must seem strange to any one who connects with his warfare on

slavery (in any mode) his statement, already quoted, that he "began to be a practical shepherd" because the "business bid fair to afford him the means of carrying out his greatest or principal object." Mr. Sanborn says that although Brown's earlier letters do not "contain much allusion to the anti-slavery crusade of Garrison, Gerrit Smith, Arthur Tappan, Wendell Phillips, and the other emancipators," he yet "took the warmest interest in these discussions from the first;" but Mr. Sanborn gives not a particle of original, contemporary evidence of this interest before Brown's removal to Springfield in 1846. The very first allusion to the organized moral agitation against slavery dates no further back than 1848 or 1849, when Brown (in a newspaper article, personifying Sambo) speaks of "becoming enlightened by Garrison, Abby Kelley, and other really benevolent persons," "of late years." This mention, by the way, and the whole tenor of the article, "Sambo's Mistakes," show that John Brown was not yet of opinion that the abolitionists were all talk, and that what was wanted was action. I suspect that, till he came to reside in Springfield, he was very little in the way of seeing anti-slavery periodicals, or at all well informed of the progress of the cause. In his memorandum-book the only reference to newspapers is in the following entry (probably 1839-40): "Get 3 vols of the 'Evangelist' bound ones for Father." On the other hand, for the later period, Sanborn copies a letter dated Springfield, March 12, 1847, to his son John, in which he says: "Have paid your account for the 'Cincinnati Weekly Herald and Philanthropist,' together with two dollars for one year's subscription to 'National Era' [Washington];" and another, of April 12, 1847, in which he says: "I have ten times as many papers as I can read."

Mr. Sanborn is now and again open to the charge of converting slender into solid evidence by dint of repetition. The vague phraseology of the Practical Shepherd in the Stearns letter assumes this shape in the course of a hundred pages of the Sanborn biography (p. 121): —

"He [Brown] seems to have declared a definite plan of attacking slavery in one of its strongholds, by force, as early as 1839; and it was to obtain money for this enterprise that he engaged in land speculations and wool-merchandise for the next ten or twelve years. . . . While tending his flocks in Ohio, with his sons and daughters about him, he first communicated to them his purpose of attacking slavery in arms. From that time forward, a period of more than twenty years, he devoted himself, not exclusively, but mainly, to the undertaking in which he sacrificed his life."

Now, as to the pursuit of wealth for the sake of the means to make a raid on the South, there is some incidental evidence to the contrary in Brown's letters as published by Mr. Sanborn himself. July 24, 1843: "I have been careful and troubled with so much serving that I have in a great measure neglected the one thing needful, and pretty much stopped all correspondence with heaven." How could this be if he was making money in the service of heaven? June 22, 1844: "The general aspect of our worldly affairs is favorable. Hope we do not entirely forget God. I am extremely ignorant at present of miscellaneous subjects." January 27, 1846: "I think we have quite as much worldly prosperity as will be likely to be a real blessing to us." April 2, 1847: "I am quite sensible of the truth of your [his father's] remark, that my family are quite as well off as though we possessed millions. I hope we may not be left to a feeling of ingratitude, or greediness of gain; *and I feel unconscious of a desire to become rich.* I hope my motive for exerting myself is higher." December 2, 1847: "I trust that getting or losing money does not entirely engross our attention; but I am sensible that it occupies quite too large a share in it."

In the next place, as to the acquainting his family with his "purpose of attacking slavery in arms," in 1839, the proof is again wholly defective. From John Brown's own hand not a word; nor can we attach a literal sense to his autobiographic statement that a circumstance during the war of 1812 "led him to declare, or swear, *eternal war* with slavery." In 1834, a letter of November 21 to his brother Frederick shows him to be planning the destruction of color prejudice and the ultimate overthrow of slavery by adopting a negro youth into his family, and giving him the same educational advantages which his own children enjoyed. This youth was to be begged of some slaveholder, or bought if need be. With this scheme he joined the starting of a school for blacks, either in some town in Ohio or Pennsylvania, or in a special colony. He thought a general instruction of the blacks at the North would "operate on slavery like firing powder confined in rock," and would constitutionally drive the slaveholding States "to set about the work of emancipation immediately." Noticeable here is the utter absence of any belligerent intention, and Brown's apparent ignorance of the recent suppression of the teaching of free colored youth of both sexes in Connecticut, — at New Haven, in 1831; at Canterbury, in 1833-34, — else he would not have vented himself solely on the slaveholders' "heaven-daring

laws against teaching blacks." Assuredly, John Brown was not at this time a reader of the "Liberator," and knew not where to turn for aid, except in his neighborhood — "from Hudson and thereabouts some first-rate abolitionist families."

When was it that John Brown took an oath of his family with regard to slavery? And what was the exact nature of the oath? Mr. Sanborn says that Brown kept his undertaking — that is, his forcible intervention against slavery — "steadily before him for forty years [1820–59], educated himself and his children for it, and made it as much a part of his household discipline as were his prayers at morning and evening." The peaceful scheme of 1834, just outlined, completely negatives this idea, and of this scheme Brown says, in the letter unfolding it, that it has been with him a favorite theme of reflection for years. A later date than 1820 ("at the time of the Missouri Compromise, when his hostility to slavery took definite shape") seems necessary. Mrs. Brown told Mr. Sanborn, in 1860, that she had known her husband's design, and been pledged to aid it, "for more than twenty years," — say since 1839. "'For twenty years,' he told Richard Hinton in 1858, 'I have never made any business arrangement which would prevent me at any time answering the call of the Lord,' " — say since 1838.¹ "Jason Brown, who remembers well the oath taken by himself and his family when his father first made known to them his purpose of *attacking slavery by force*, thinks the time was not 1837, but 1839. The place, he says, was Franklin, and the time was 'when the colored preacher, Mr. Fayette, was at father's; and he (Mr. F.) and mother, John, Jason, and Owen were sworn to secrecy, and *to do all in their power to abolish slavery.*' " The phrases we have italicized are respectively Mr. Sanborn's and Jason Brown's; and it cannot be maintained that the latter justifies the former. No more, necessarily, does the account of John Brown, Jr., in Mr. Sanborn's report of it, — "that the first time he ever saw his father *kneel* in prayer was when he communicated to the older children (about 1837) his purpose to *make active war* upon slavery." This was equally the purpose of the non-resistant abolitionists; and in his index Mr. Sanborn refers to the above incident in these peaceful terms: "Makes a compact with his sons to *labor for emancipa-*

¹ Compare Hinton's account (Sanborn, p. 472) of an interview with Brown in Kansas, on June 25, 1858, in which the latter said: "I have waited for twenty years to accomplish my purpose." *At that moment* his purpose was Harper's Ferry.

tion." Richard Realf's testimony, being discredited by Mr. Sanborn himself, we may disregard.

The sum of the matter is, that at the time when our memorandum-book takes the witness-stand, John Brown's life-long aversion to slavery had culminated in a sort of solemn family agreement to oppose the system; but let who will believe (from the documents) that an armed *attack* lurked in it, though armed *resistance* might.

Having put the years 1838 and 1839 behind us, let us examine the book for the year 1840. So far as abolitionism is concerned, the items will be found quite as barren as those just considered. Negatively, however, they, too, throw some light on the main contention of Brown's biographer. The leading event of 1840 for our Practical Shepherd was a journey to West Virginia to survey lands belonging to Oberlin College. Mr. Sanborn, beginning with rumor, ends with positive assertion (p. 133): —

"It is said that the first definite thought of the place where he should make his attack upon the slave system came to Brown while he was surveying lands for Oberlin College, in what is now West Virginia, in 1840. . . . It is west of the Alleghanies, and is not very mountainous; but, in approaching or leaving it, Brown had occasion to observe how useful those mountains would be to any band of men who were aiming at emancipation by force. 'The mountains and swamps of the South,' said Brown in Kansas, 'were intended by God as a refuge for the slave and a defense against his master.' That he cherished this purpose when he wrote the following from West Virginia, nearly twenty years before his foray at Harper's Ferry, is certain; and the thought that he had his great project in mind then, gives an interest to the brief letter."

The letter in question says: "I have seen the spot where, if it be the will of Providence, I hope one day to live with my family," and has not a word that can be construed into an allusion to slavery or raids; nor has another letter, from Levi Burnell, an Oberlin official, in reference to John Brown's settling on the College lands and ultimately being able "to make provision for religious and school privileges."

Our memorandum-book opens the subject on pages 28, 29, with these entries in ink: "Oberlin Collegiate Institute in acts with John Brown: April 3d 1840 By cash pr Levi Burnell 50.00. April 3d 1840 Dr To cash for Clerk certificate 9.50. 14 To cash at Franklin 0.50," etc. Brown received fifty dollars and no more. His expenses are noted down to May 16. His observations on the country are devoid of any character not in keeping with the agricultural prospector's mission. Thus: —

"April 23d 1840 (Found on McElroy Big Beach bottom good Mill Seat undisputed Tract.) (Found on right branch of Big battle valueable spring, good stone coal, and exelent bottoms, good timber, sugar orchard good hill land, & beautiful situation for dwelling all right) X Course of this branch at the forks is South 21° West from a beautiful White Oak on which I marked my initials 23d April 1840 (J B).

"28th April found on big Battle below the forks good bottom land good Stone & on the left hand fork a fine bottom with one of the best Sugar orchards I ever met with.

"Found on Brush Run some good bottom, durable water, good timber. & Stone Coal, also first rate stone quarry, Sugar orchard also May 11th.

"Found on Israels Fork good botoms, good timber, Sugar orchards, and the appearance of good durable water, with good bottoms above, & below it, no appearance of Coal, nor of Stone, fit for working May 11th.

"May 12th Found on Riggins Run some good bottom land, some good timber, & some indications of Stone Coal, also some appearance of durable water."

These are all the observations, and they are followed by notes of what the farmers of the country would take for their acres and betterments.

The note-book entries for the years 1841-44, of which the date cannot always be determined, are of slender interest. The itinerary on page 35 should apparently be identified with "the journey to Lowell (on which I now am)" referred to by John Brown in his letter of June 22, 1844, from Cleveland, as given by Sanborn. That on page 38, with an "Account of Co Money paid out for sheep & expences Oct 1844 by John Brown," I take to have been across the State of Ohio, from Carrollton to the neighborhood of Dayton. On a fly-leaf is still another, without date, from Ohio to West Virginia, in the interest of Captain Oviatt, of Richfield, for whom Brown began to keep sheep in 1841. Traces of this connection are to be found in two or three other places, as: "There were on the 1st Dec 1843 34 Saxony Ewes & Ewe Lambs of which J Brown owned 12 Yearlings from H. Oviatt's sheep Seven Lambs from do Eight." "H. Oviatt has now as we have counted 111 sheep in all to be sheared 13th April 1844." There are sundry business entries relating to S. Perkins, Jr., and to the partnership of Wells & Brown, of which I believe no mention is made by Sanborn. Thus: "Of \$14632.50 Loaned to by Cattle J Wells & J Brown received each as follows (to wit) J Wells \$10632.50 J Brown \$4000." The latest entry of all is

on page 39, of a debit to Owen Brown, Sr., February 15, 1845, of which the final item reads, "To Cow agreed 15.00."

In regard to books, we discover that John Brown, while in New York in 1838, made a minute to this effect: "Power of Religion by Lind M[*illegible*]," meaning clearly enough Lindley Murray's "Power of Religion on the Mind." A few pages later, perhaps to be ascribed to the following year, we come upon these memoranda, preceding the dimensions of sheep-houses: —

"Get a good Truss for Jason
Get some new Bibles."

On page 18 (also, perhaps, in 1839): "Bible, New Testament, or Spelling Book, for Ward B. Guy."

Among the entries for 1838 occurs this memorandum on the same page with a recipe "To revive Lambs or Sheep when chilled with cold: " —

"Deacon Abel Hinsdale left off entirely the use of Tobacco at the age of 66 now 73 and has used none since that time No ba[d] consequences have followed Qery When will a man become to old to leave off any bad habit "

(Deacon Hinsdale, be it remarked in passing, was brother to Captain Elisha Hinsdale, grandfather of Professor B. A. Hinsdale of Michigan University, who tells me that the veteran anti-tobacconist died at Torrington, Conn., some time in the forties, and that, as was to be inferred, he was a man of character and standing. He was a townsman and near neighbor of John Brown's father, Captain Owen Brown, also, says Professor Hinsdale, "a 'character' in his way, but after quite a different model from his more famous son. Native wit, combined with stuttering, made him one of the drollest of men.")

Between entries for 1840 and for 1842 (these last recording John Brown's marks on buck lambs) are written in ink, at the same time, the following apothegms — one original, and carefully distinguished as such by being signed, and one quoted, with due credit to an economist of whom I can learn nothing: —

"That kind of news which we most like to hear of others, affords the best possible index to the true character of our own hearts. John Brown."

"The dependence of the rich, & powerful illustrated; or a lesson of humility. If all others were as well off in the world as ourselves, they would be as fully employed as we. could not perform our work, & of course we should be obliged to do it ourselves, & our worldly possessions must be verry limited. Sylvanus Cook."

In the foregoing ethical commonplaces we have all that John Brown confided to his pocket-companion, from which no one would guess that slavery was in his remotest thought. The Darwinian defense, the "imperfection of the geologic record," is, of course, valid here; yet, taking the memorandum-book in connection with the documents in Sanborn's *Life*, one cannot resist the general impression that the struggle for existence and (so far as this permitted) religious concern of the common orthodox type were the Practical Shepherd's main preoccupations during the seven years 1838-45.

It remains to add that the book we have been examining abounds in excellent autographs of the owner, within and without, — "John Brown's Book" is legible on the outside of both covers, — and that I have given it to the Boston Public Library for deposit with its anti-slavery collection.

II. — JOHN BROWN, GUERRILLA.

"*Circassia* has about 550,000.

"*Switzerland*, 2,037,030.

"Guerilla warfare See *Life of Lord Wellington* Page 71 to Page 75 (Mina) See also Page 102 some *valuable hints* in same Book. See also Page 196 some most important instructions to officers. See also same Book Page 235 these words Deep and narrow defiles where 300 men would suffice to check an *army*. See also Page 236 on top of Page."

This entry, in ink, I copy from another memorandum-book of John Brown's, somewhat stouter than the one just analyzed, and slightly out of repair. Two leaves are missing from the front; and the front cover, of leather, apparently went with them. The pasteboard substitute bears the following inscription: "This book of mems. was given me by Mrs. Brown at North Elba, Decr., 1859. J. M. McKim." It is in the main a diary for the years 1857-59, but on page [16] are three entries pertaining to cattle, of which one is dated January 1, 1855, when Brown was probably at Akron, O., and another May 7, 1855, when he was certainly at Rockford, Ill. The debit of the former date, "Horace Hawkins, To balance of accounts 1.38," is noticeable chiefly as a reminder of the pseudonym, "Nelson Hawkins," which was Brown's favorite of his varied assortment in use from the time when he was "wanted" for "treason" in Kansas, to the catastrophe at Harper's Ferry.

It is probable that the missing leaves contained entries for

1856, in September of which year Brown evaded the warrant for his arrest issued by Governor Geary, and bade good-by for a while to the distracted territory of Kansas. On the first of the remaining pages is a list of "good stopping places between Iowa City & Tabor [Fremont County, Iowa]," the latter town lying on his northern route in the above exodus, and being about to serve him as headquarters and rendezvous. Below, penciled in a bold hand, we read, "Owen Brown [senior] died May 8th 1856," and "Fredk Brown was killed Aug 30th 1856 [in the Border-Ruffian raid on Osawatomie]." Midway on the page stands this item: "Expence on Company horse sold in Iowa for \$100, was \$9.55."

The Company referred to was that irregular body commanded by Brown in 1856, called the "Free-State Regular Volunteers of Kansas," whose covenant, articles of enlistment, and by-laws were copied out for Mr. Sanborn by Brown from the memorandum-book before me, and will be found on pages 287-290 of the *Life of Brown*. A few insignificant changes and omissions were accidentally made in the transcribing and need not be recorded here. The autographic roll of privates, on the other hand, suffered considerably in the double copying. For example, "Hauser" was utterly disguised in print as "Hereson:" and even the surname of W. H. Leeman, the only one afterwards found on the list of the Harper's Ferry band, was inexactly spe't with a single *e*.

Before passing to the entries for 1857 and the two succeeding years, let us revert to the extract with which we opened this chapter. The "*Life of Lord Wellington*" cited by Brown for its bearing on guerrilla warfare turns out to have been Joachim Hayward Stoequeler's "*Life of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington*," published in London in 1852. Brown's references are to the first of two volumes. Pages 71 to 75 relate to Wellington's defensive attitude after Ciudad Rodrigo yielded to the French on July 16, 1810. He was assisted, says his biographer, "by the growth, activity, intelligence and determination of the Spanish Guerillas," whose operations Stoequeler proceeds to describe at some length. "Mina, a chief possessing great authority and ability," dispersed his troops in small parties, and quickly re-assembled them, on one occasion defeating 2,000 French. Of this personage John Brown made a note in parentheses; but he passed over as of little weight — perhaps owing to different conditions — the testimony, on page 74, of a British officer who served in the campaigns of 1809-14.

"Do not suppose," says this officer, "that we give the like credit to the Guerrillas as you have done in England ; for, however they may have annoyed and even distressed the enemy, and rendered necessary the employment of large bodies of troops to keep up communication, they never could nor would have liberated their country. This petty mountain warfare could not lead to great results, while their miserable armies only entered the plains to be dispersed, and, but for our forces, all the best and accessible countries of every province were permanently subdued."

The "valuable hints" on page 102 were contained in Wellington's warning to the people of Portugal to be prepared for a renewal of the French invasion, to conceal their valuables and provisions, and to bury objects of plunder.

The "most important instructions to officers" were hints as to discipline and cooking, with praise of the French mess.

On page 235 Stoequeler is summarizing the topography of Spain. "Here, then," says he, "we have a chaos of mountains, where we meet at every step huge fallen masses of rock and earth, yawning fissures, deep and narrow defiles, where 300 men would suffice to check an army," etc. The picture is continued at the top of page 236 : "Isolated towns, either perched upon eminences or enclosed within walls ; villages remote from each other, and half savage ; a people proud, sober, brave and ferocious — such are the elements which render this a country eminently adapted for defensive warfare, and almost impossible to be conquered."

Indicative of a comprehensive scheme — whether of defense or of running off of slaves, who can say ? — is the following entry by John Brown directly opposite the minutes relating to the native strongholds of Schamyl, Tell, and Mina : —

"Fayetteville North Carolina head of navigation on Cape Fear River
 Alleghany Pa Pittsburg
 Frankford Pa Bridesburg
 Pikesville Maryland Pikeville
 Augusta Georgia Augusta
 St Louis Missouri
 Baton Rouge Louisiana
 Monnt Vernon Allabama
 Charleston South Carolina
 Washington D C
 Little Rock Arkansas
 San Antonio Texas
 Apalachicola at Chattahoochee :
 & St Augustine Florida."

We may never know the exact date at which the above memo-

randa were made. Richard Realf reports in a large way that in Canada, in 1858, John Brown "stated that he had read all the books upon insurrectionary warfare that he could lay his hands on: the Roman warfare . . . , Schamyl . . . , Toussaint . . . ," etc. To Realf, as to Sanborn, Brown, who "had followed the military career of Napoleon with great interest," unquestionably declared that he had visited the Continental battlefields in the fall of 1849, with a view to learning what he could for the warfare he even then contemplated. Not much could be done in the two or three weeks he appears to have had for business and sight-seeing together. Waterloo, Leipsic, and Jena were accessible, but had few lessons for the guerrilla; Switzerland there is no record of his having reached.

What had happened in the interval between 1845, up to which time militant John Brown is undiscoverable, and 1849? His removal to Springfield, Mass., in 1846; the transportation of his family thence to North Elba in 1848-49. According to Sanborn, "soon after Brown's arrival in Springfield, he had begun to communicate his purpose of attacking slavery by force to the colored men whom he found to be worthy of trust;" and Thomas Thomas, a fugitive from Maryland, is named as one such. Thomas was engaged by Brown as a porter, and, as a preliminary to his entrance upon his duties, received from his employer "the outlines of his plan to liberate the slaves, and was invited to join in the enterprise, which he agreed to do." The incident is an odd one, and the testimony is neither first-hand nor specific; nor is it much helped by another alleged circumstance, that "Thomas was afterwards sent by Brown to look up Madison Washington, the leader of the courageous slaves of the vessel *Creole*, who was wanted as a leader among the colored recruits that were to join the band of liberators." But did Washington or any of his black Virginians ever venture back to their native land, which sought in vain their extradition from England, with a view to making an example of them as fugitives and "mutineers"?

Some time in 1848-49 Brown contributed to the "Ram's Horn," a journal published in New York by colored men, the article "Sambo's Mistakes," already referred to. In this, Sambo is reproached with currying favor with the whites "by tamely submitting to every species of indignity, contempt, and wrong, instead of nobly resisting their brutal aggressions from principle."

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, and the consequent revolt of the Northern conscience, filled Brown with hope

of a rapid multiplication of abolitionists. On November 28 he wrote to his wife from Springfield: "I of course keep encouraging my colored friends to 'trust in God, and keep their powder dry.' I did so to-day, at Thanksgiving meeting, publicly." Soon after this he formed these friends into a "Branch of the United States League of Gileadites," and drew up for them "Words of Advice," how to act concertedly against kidnappers. This document opens with the declaration: "Nothing so charms the American people as personal bravery. Witness the case of Cinques, of everlasting memory, on board the *Amistad*." Of Madison Washington and the *Creole*, not a word. The scope of the organization was purely defensive, and John Brown's part in it he looked upon as an attempt to "revive their broken spirits."

In August, 1854, he wrote to his namesake: "If you or any of my family are disposed to go to Kansas or Nebraska, with a view to help defeat *Satan* and his legions in that direction, I have not a word to say; *but I feel committed to operate in another part of the field.* If I were not so committed, I would be on my way this fall." It is not clear what he meant by the sentence in italics. His five sons emigrated to the new Territory in the autumn, and a letter of John Brown, Jr., dated June 22, 1855, shows the father to have made inquiries respecting the cost of living there, and the chances of his being able to resume his business as a surveyor. On June 27, at Syracuse, N. Y., Brown publicly solicited arms for his sons and their Free State neighbors. By October he had joined them and was fully committed to the common armed resistance to Border Ruffianism, and within twelve months became a full-fledged guerrilla chieftain, "John Brown of Osawatimie." In September, 1856, he was a fugitive, and began his extraordinary career of disguises and plottings that ended at Charlestown, Va.

His journey northward is marked in the memorandum-book before us by the list (on page [9]) begun on December 22, 1856, of persons with whom he "Left Subscription paper," and the several places in Ohio, Central New York ("with F Douglas & Daniel Anthony Esqs"), and Springfield, Mass. "I am trying," he said openly, "to raise from twenty to twenty-five thousand dollars in the free States to enable me to continue my efforts in the cause of freedom." In the first week of January, 1857, Brown had reached Boston, and made himself known to the Kansas State Committee, of which George L. Stearns was chairman. At Brown's request, Mr. Stearns wrote his name and official title on

page [6] of the memorandum-book. On the next leaf occurs this contemporaneous entry: "Remington & Sons Ilion stop at Herkimer (can make spears)." These were the pikes, meant for arming his slave recruits, contracted for with Charles Blair of Collinsville, Conn., on March 30, 1857; and here at last we feel that we really behold the dawn of Harper's Ferry.

With January 12, 1857, on which day Brown wrote to Augustus Wattles in Kansas, the book becomes a more or less regular diary, and is especially valuable for its minutes of correspondence, incomplete as they are, as well as for traces of his restless wanderings. On page [15], among several New York city addresses, we find: "Col H Forbes No 41 East 15th 3 Doors East of Union Square," or, by subsequent correction, "No 212 Broadway N Y." This British adventurer, who had served under Garibaldi, captivated Brown at first sight, and readily assumed the post of drill-master under the Yankee Mina. The date of their first meeting is perhaps recorded in this entry on page [16]: "Must see Col Forbes by April 17th [1857]." Forbes began at once to draw on the proceeds of Brown's "subscription papers" — \$400 on April 27, \$200 on April 29, the full limit. Brown, meanwhile, had passed westward on his way to Tabor and Springdale, Iowa, at which latter place his secret-service company was forming ready to Forbes's hand. But Forbes preferred the flesh-pots of New York, went on printing his guerrilla "Manual," and only reached Tabor in August.

On page [16] Brown notes: "Enquire of Jonas Jones Esqr Tabor Freemont Co. Iowa: for letters for Nelson Hawkins" — that is, Brown himself. On June 3, 1857, at Hudson, O.: "Wrote A Wattles, & Wm Phillips both to write Jas Smith at Tabor Iowa." Sanborn prints this letter to Wattles signed with the new alias, "James Smith," on page 393 of his Biography, and the reply on page 394. On June 9 Brown made a fresh effort to draw his drill-master after him, witness this entry on page [21]: "Wrote Col Forbes to meet me at Bennet House Cleveland on the 17th June without fail." "June 11th Wrote Joseph Bryant to give assistance to Forbes *if satisfied* he was ready to join me *not otherwise*." Bryant was a New York friend who kept watch on Forbes, and Sanborn prints (pp. 389, 390) his reports, in which he evidently wavered between his perception that Forbes was a "dead beat," and his faith in him as an honest man. Brown addressed him once more on this subject as follows, page [23]: "Wrote order to Joseph Bryant Esqr East 41st Street New York

(Union Drove Yard) to collect \$600, of Col Forbes if he had drawn it; & is not coming on at once; or to send my letter to Callender, & also to write Nelson Hawkins at Iowa City Iowa: Care Dr J Bowen June 2d 1857." On the same day, page [24]: "Wrote W H D Callender State Bank Hartford not to pay over to Forbes till further advised also to write me Care of Dr Jesse Bowen Iowa City, Iowa June 22d at Cleveland." "June 29th Wrote Joseph Bryant Col Forbes, & D Lee Child; all that I leave here Cleveland this day for Tabor, Iowa; & advise Forbes, & Child, to call on Jonas Jones."

By July 6 Brown was in Iowa City, by August 8 in Tabor. This last was a heavy day for correspondence: letters to Wattles, Realf, William Phillips, his old lieutenant James H. Holmes, apparently as to the advisability of his being on hand at the fall election in Kansas; to wife and children; to Edwin Morton, of Gerrit Smith's family. On August 12, still at Tabor, he wrote to his New Haven friends, "Prof Twining & Dr Bacon." "Aug 13th Wrote F B Sanborn & Mass State Kansas Committee same time." This is the first mention of his future biographer. "Aug 14th Wrote Charles Blair of Collinsville Conn about contract [for pikes] & to write me through Jonas Jones." Blair's reply is given by Sanborn on page 378. Forbes, meanwhile, had arrived at his post. We read on page [26]:—

"Jonas Jones Cr

By 6 baskets Corn Six

By board of Self & Owen from 7th Aug at Noon

By board of Forbes from Sunday 9th at Noon."

"Sept 10th Wrote Gerrit Smith, S P Chase, J B Jr, & George L Stearns." "Sept 11th Wrote Theodore Parker. Also: Charles Blair. F B Sanborn." The letter to Parker acknowledged an "immediate want of some five hundred or one thousand dollars for secret service, and no questions asked." Between entries of September 16 and 21 occurs this list:—

"(Faithful)

Jas Redpath

M F Conway

Wm Phillips

Daniel Foster."

"Oct 2d Wrote F B Sanborn, & others through him: at Boston: in way of report." This letter is printed by Sanborn on page 398, but is there dated October 1, at Tabor. It tells of Brown's drill-

ing with his son under Forbes. "Oct 5th Wrote E B Whitman, John T Jones, & S L Adair by Tidd for money." This is the first mention of another of the Harper's Ferry band, Charles P. Tidd. "Oct 12 Wrote John & Jason *not to reply*: till I should write them again." He was about to revisit Kansas. "Oct 31st Wrote John by Forbes, & by Mail also gave Forbes \$35, for expences." "Oct 31st Let Forbes have Two blankets." "Nov 18th Gave J E Cook \$82.68 Gave Do 2.00" — still another of the Harper's Ferry company. "Dec 29th Realf began to board at Noon with Townsend."

The year 1858 opened with Brown sufficiently in debt to William Maxson of Springdale, Iowa, for board of his embryo guerrillas, and on January 15 he started East to replenish his funds and to hasten the crisis. The day before, he "Left with men at Springdale 8 Copies Forbes Extracts 2 Copies Forbes Manual 1 Copy Army of the United States." Forbes had already departed, and was soon to menace the enterprise with exposure. "Jany 21st Wrote Forbes through John." By the 28th Brown was with Frederick Douglass in Rochester, N. Y. From this place, "Jany 30th Wrote Wife & Children; & Ruth in particular about Henry going to School &c" — that most pathetic letter printed by Sanborn on page 440, Henry being Ruth's husband, and the "school" being Brown's rash and perilous adventure; the letter, too, in which Brown first and most distinctly expressed a realizing sense of his being an instrument of the Almighty.

On February 1, 1858, he "Wrote G L S[tearns] saying I would give him notice before using Check or Draft & return his Letter of credit on receipt of it, & to write N Hawkins Care of Wm J Watkins Rochester N Y at once." On the same date, "Wrote F B Sanborn in regard to many things," and the next day "Theodore Parker & Mr Higginson." Of all, as we know, he begged aid in raising "five hundred to eight hundred dollars within the next sixty days," "for carrying out an important measure in which the world has a deep interest, as well as Kansas" — as he wrote to Parker; "for the perfecting of by far the most important undertaking of my whole life" — as he wrote to Higginson. Noticeable in this correspondence is Brown's distrust of the two men with whom he had had the closest personal intercourse, Stearns and Sanborn. He had either been franker with Parker, or had felt that this clergyman's intuitions were keener. In the letter of February 2 to him Brown says: "I have written to some of our mutual friends in regard to it [the raising of the

new secret-service money], but they none of them understand my views as well as you do, and I cannot explain without their first committing themselves more than I know of their doing." And again, more explicitly: "I have written George L. Stearns, Esq., of Medford, and Mr. F. B. Sanborn, of Concord; but I am not informed as to how deeply-dyed Abolitionists those friends are." To the Rev. T. W. Higginson he appears to be making his first communication, yet he says: "I have been told that you are both a true man and a true Abolitionist, and I partly believe the whole story . . . I have written Rev. Theodore Parker, George L. Stearns, and F. B. Sanborn, Esqs., on the subject, but I do not know as either Mr. Stearns or Mr. Sanborn are Abolitionists. I suppose they are." In fact, neither of these gentlemen had been conspicuously associated with the Garrisonian body, as had both Parker and Higginson. Of Abolitionists Brown asked no certificate except their readiness for forcible measures against slavery. To Theodore Parker he named Parker Pillsbury as possibly one such. "Do you not know of some parties whom you could induce to give their abolition theories a thoroughly practical shape? . . . Do you think any of my Garrisonian friends, either at Boston, Worcester, or any other place, can be induced to supply a little 'straw' if I will absolutely make 'bricks'?"

On February 5: "Wrote J Brown Jr abot going to W & many other things." From Sanborn (page 450) we learn that "W" stands for Washington, and that the son was urged to go there and try to raise money of Congressmen. Also:—

"I have been thinking that I would like to have you make a trip to Bedford, Chambersburg, Gettysburg, and Uniontown, in Pennsylvania, traveling slowly along, and inquiring out every man on the way, or every family of the right stripe, and getting acquainted with them as much as you could. When you look at the location of those places you will readily perceive the advantage of getting up some acquaintance in those parts."

On February 6: "Wrote F B Sanborn *freely about C F* [Col. Forbes] saying write me as before directed." Forbes had been writing letters to Sanborn, Sumner, and Dr. Howe, holding them responsible for the termination of his engagement with Brown and consequent pecuniary distress. February 9: "Wrote J B Jr returning F [orbes's] Letter, &c." Sanborn prints this extraordinary letter of Brown in full on page 432. Forbes had written to Brown under date of January 27 in care of his son. Brown desires the latter to return the communication as if it had been

withheld, on the ground that the elder Brown would regard it as "highly offensive and insulting;" and further to inform Forbes that "I [*i. e.*, John Brown, Jr.] was trying to send you a little assistance myself — say about forty dollars," whereas this lay wholly in the father's intention, who, if the rebuke had the desired effect on Forbes, "would like to get a draft for forty dollars, payable to his order, and remit him at once."

Brown continued his pressure on his Eastern confidants. "Feb 10th Wrote G L Stearns & Mr Sanborn to know if they can meet me at Gerrit Smiths. Wrote Charles Blair to direct Freight [the pikes] to E A Fobes Ashtabula, Ohio; & to write me at Lindenville; Care of E. A. Fobes." "Feby 12th Wrote T W Higginson Worcester Mass asking him to meet me at G Smiths with Stearns & Sanborn." This is the letter in which Brown defined his present purpose as "[Underground] Railroad business on a somewhat extended scale;" a measure "that I feel sure would awaken in you something more than a common interest if you could understand it." Mr. Sanborn alone answered the call to Peterboro', when Brown unfolded his Southern plan of campaign, showed his provisional "Constitution," and received the necessary encouragement.

From Peterboro' he proceeded to Brooklyn, where he held consultations with his colored friends, particularly the Rev. J. W. Loguen, a frequent correspondent, as our memorandum-book shows. From that city on February 27, "Wrote F B Sanborn about books and Drilling & to enclose to Jas N Gloucester: for next Two or Three days." The reference to books is thus explained by text (Sanborn, p. 443): "I want to put into the hands of my young men copies of Plutarch's 'Lives,' Irving's 'Life of Washington,' the best-written Life of Napoleon, and other similar books, together with maps and statistics of States." The "Drilling" was innocent "best white cotton drilling."

March 4: "Wrote John to enclose to S'phen Smith Philadelphia." Brown was now in Boston at the American House, where, beside his coal fire, he proposed to Sanborn the seizing of Harper's Ferry — "putting it as a question, rather, without expressing his own purpose." To his son he wrote as above (Sanborn, p. 451):—

"As it may require some time to hunt out friends at Bedford, Chambersburg, Gettysburg, Hagerstown, Md., or even *Harper's Ferry, Va.*, I would like to have you arrange your business so as to set out very soon, unless you hear to the contrary from me right away. Have pretty much concluded not to have you go to Washington."

Brown was next due in Philadelphia, March 15, to confer with the Rev. Stephen Smith and other colored men of that city, together with Frederick Douglass. Towards the end of the month he was at North Elba; on April 2 at Peterboro', whence he repaired to St. Catherine's, Canada. From this place: "April 8th Wrote J Brown Jr about Mr Case & to have him Case & John write me to Alex E Fobes." Case was a nurseryman near Rochester, and, from the letter, it appears that he had undertaken the commission formerly assigned to the younger Brown, namely, "hunting up every person and family of the reliable kind about, at, or near Bedford, Chambersburg, Gettysburg and Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, and also Hagerstown and vicinity, Maryland, and *Harper's Ferry, Va.*" Between the middle and the end of April Brown had journeyed to Springdale, Iowa, and back to Chicago, where he wrote to his family that part of his company had arrived on April 28. The following entry relates to these: "1858 May 1st Ten persons began to board with Mr Barber 29th April at Dinner Three others began may 1st at Breakfast." Brown spoke of them as "shepherds," and his enterprise as "wool business."

Revisiting Chatham, in Canada West, he was apprised by Sanborn of Forbes's threats to publish the conspiracy, and responded on May 5 ("Wrote F B Sanborn about *F*; haste for funds"). On May 11, the day after holding a convention at Chatham among the fugitive slaves settled there, he again addressed Sanborn, as well as Gerrit Smith, on the same subject; on the 12th, "Wrote Wife, & Children about *F*, prospects, money, Flour," etc. (Sanborn, p. 455): on the 13th, Dr. Howe, "about *F* &c;" on the 14th, Higginson and Sanborn "about *F* matters hinting to question *F* about where I am *or was*." "You can say with perfect truth to F.," he wrote to Mr. Sanborn, "that you do not know what has become of me; and you might ask him when he last heard from me, and where I was at the time."

Meanwhile his company were eating him up, and he was borrowing of them and of their keeper:—

"May 13 Kagi left boarding with Mr [Barber?] at this date after
Dinner

"	"	Mr Barber Cr By cash lent me	\$10
"	"	Richard Realf Cr By cash loaned me	\$10.84
"	"	George B Gill Cr By cash loaned me	\$10.00
"	"	Charles Whipple Cr By cash for Owen	0.75
"	"	C W Moffatt Cr By cash	0.50
"	"	" " By paid Bowersock	1.50."

Another embarrassment arose from a warning from Mr. Stearns not to use the Kansas defense arms in his possession for any other purpose, and a summons to New York. On May 19 Brown replied: "Wrote G L S about his Two letters [May 14, 15]; Expences &c; *urgently*." But go to New York he did, and then to Boston, where the Virginia raid was postponed and a temporary interdict placed upon the use of the arms except in Kansas. Thither our disappointed guerrilla chief now betook himself. He left Boston on June 3, he reached Lawrence, Kansas, on June 25. Midway, on June 16, he wrote a letter to his family, after which entry his memorandum-book is silent till April 5, 1859.

In the interval, taking the name of "Capt. Shubel Morgan," and, for further disguise, letting his beard grow, he had formed a new company in the Territory, established a kind of fort near the Missouri border, crossed the line on December 20, 1858, and rescued ten slaves, and then slowly convoyed them to Canada, which was reached on March 12, 1859. Sanborn prints (p. 519) another diary, beginning March 10, 1859, at Detroit, and, with a pause from March 25 to June 18, ending September 9. The missing entries are found in our memorandum-book, but are of little interest for our present purpose.

Stitched in among the blank pages which succeed is a small fragment of blue paper indorsed "Due Jason \$10," and with these lines penciled on the front:—

to be peaceable be

"All peaceable proslavery citizens known _^ shall ~~not~~ be protected in their lives and property.

direct or indirect

"All injurious action _^ or information of that kind commu" —

And with this seeming rough draft of articles xxxiv. ("Neutrals") and xxxv. ("No needless waste") of his Chatham provisional Constitution, I take leave of John Brown of Harper's Ferry—logically and historically, the right man in the right place; ethically, as one views him from the standpoint of Christian non-resistance or "Christian" war. His second memorandum-book, like his first, is now in the Boston Public Library; for what would John Brown have been without Boston?

Wendell Phillips Garrison.

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